



THE BERBERS

A GOOD deal of interest has been aroused lately in scientific and religious quarters by the important discoveries and researches of Mr. Theodore Bent, Dr. Carl Peters, Professor Keane, and others, which go to identify Ophir and Havilah with the gold-producing district of Mashonaland in South Africa. The name "Ophir," has been found in the Egyptian form "Afur," and this latter again is taken to be the same as "Afer," the root of the word "Africa." There is no doubt that "Africa" is the feminine adjective derived from "Afer," which occurs in the appellation of the Latin comedian Publius Terentius *Afer*, so-called from his being a native of Tunis. "Afer" was Tunis, the "Afric" province was strictly the present Regency; and only in modern times has the local designation been applied to other parts, and eventually to the whole continent. But whence came "Afer," if "Ophir" and "Afur" came from it? I know of no other derivation of the term, so I venture to offer the following:—The earliest inhabitants of Tunis were *cave-dwellers*. Herodotus, in his second book, describes the customs and country of these "Troglodytes," such as they exist to the present day, in the mountains on the Tunisian-Tripolitan border. Now the principal part of this cave-dwelt chain is still called "Jebel *Yefren*," or "Jebel *Ifren*," from the tribe of the Yefren or Ifren, who inhabit it. According to the Berber historian Ibn Khaldun this tribe dwelt there from time immemorial, and he incidentally mentions that "they derived their name from the Berber word, 'ifri' (or in the feminine form, 'tifri'), which signifies '*a cave*.'" The translator of Ibn Khaldun, Baron MacGuckin de Slane, corroborates this by tracing the word "ifri" to the Berber root "effer,' "*to hide*." From this I think

it is clear that "Afer" is merely the Latinised form of the Libyan equivalent of "Ifren," that is "cave-dwellers," or "those who hide (themselves or their belongings) in caves." From the local term "Afer," the whole province was called by the Romans "Africa" (a term still restricted by the Arabs to the province of Tunis) whence the entire continent has now derived its name.

Having lived for the last fifteen years in North Africa, as a missionary, I have become increasingly interested in the Aboriginal tribes of this country. My object in drawing attention to the Berbers is not only scientific, though I hold that they furnish materials for interesting inquiries in many different branches of study, but I believe that a more intimate and friendly acquaintance with these intelligent and enterprising people would prove of great commercial and political value.

Commercial Aptitudes.—The hardy and indomitable spirit which has survived centuries of alien domination, the thrifty, industrious energy which survives in the Berber the apathy which Muslim fatalism induces in others, the enterprise which drives the Berber far from home to seek his fortune in every direction, the acute appreciation of the value of money, and the commercial worth of articles of trade, the readiness to profit by newly-introduced or unfamiliar goods, all make the Berber tribes peculiarly fit for the rôle of traders, and commercial agents. Even the Twarik nomads, whose eagle-swoop the caravans crossing the Sahara so much dread, might be turned into most valuable aids and protectors of commerce. By recognising and scrupulously respecting the territorial rights of the various Twarik tribes, by which I mean by regarding their exactions, not as blackmail but as regular customs dues—into which no doubt they would be willing to convert them in exchange for frank recognition—I believe the desert highways might be not only made safe, but increasingly profitable. The trade between the Soudanese States—Bornu, Wadai, Baghirmi, Adamawa, Sokoto, &c., and the north and east, instead of being hampered would then be fostered by these active Berber travellers. When the slave-trade is suppressed, some other outlet must be found for the activities of the so-called "Arab" raider from Tripoli

and Morocco. He will soon find it to his advantage to turn to honest trade.

The northern part of Africa is inhabited by various races, one of which, the Berber, is by far the most numerous, the others being almost insignificant in comparison with it.

Moors.—Thus the people generally described as "Moors," are only (except when the term is used as referring to the inhabitants of Morocco) the heterogeneous populations of the coast towns of the Mediterranean, who are almost entirely of European origin, and consist of the descendants of captives, fugitives from justice, renegades, traders, &c., &c., mingled with natives from different parts of the interior, drawn by the various attractions of the town, and a small proportion of negro slaves.

Jews.—Next in numbers to the "Moors" are the Jews, with whom though their local history is very interesting,[1] I will not occupy myself here.

Europeans.—Then there are the many thousands of Spaniards, French, Italians, Maltese, Greeks, Turks, and other Europeans, some of whom have been settled in the Barbary States for many generations, but who in comparison with the native races, are still only a recent and a foreign element. As, however, the immigration of Europeans into North Africa has been incessant from the earliest ages, and, until the animosities between the Christian and the Mohammedan religions prevented their coalition in modern times, their influx must have largely modified the native races, it is right to take this element into consideration.

Negroes.—There remain the negroes who are equally foreigners in North Africa with the Christians. These do not seem to have had much effect upon the population. They have always been comparatively few, only the women having at all intermarried with the whites. No negro can obtain a white wife.

Berbers.—The great bulk of the inhabitants of the North of Africa is, then, of the Berber race.

[1] Some of the "Jews" in Tunis are not of Hebrew, but of Berber origin, being the descendants of native tribes who adopted the Jewish religion before the preaching of Christianity. Some of these Jews still live in tents among Berber nomads. Blue eyes and fair hair are common among the Jews of Tunis.

The origin of the Berbers is at present unknown. In spite of many efforts in ancient, as well as in modern times, it has hitherto been impossible to trace their pedigree, or to attach them to any known source of the human race. I cannot pretend to solve the problem, but I think it will be useful to arrange as far as possible, such evidence as we possess, and to point out the lines which seem to offer some chances of leading to connections with other races, and so give the Berbers their place in the family of nations. After a few remarks on their geographical distribution, I shall try to collect evidence from—

1st. Their anthropological characteristics.

2nd. Their language.

3rd. Customs.

4th. Such historical notices as have come down to us.

I shall then propose a few lines of inquiry, which I think the evidence suggests as likely to lead to some very interesting, if not conclusive, results.

Geographical Distribution.—The Berbers are spread over a territory extending from about the 25th meridian of East Longitude westward to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Mediterranean Sea southwards to the Senegal, and roughly, the 15th parallel of Latitude.

In the Sahara are Twariks, who are considered the purest of Berbers. In the Oases of Siwah, Aujila, Jalo, &c., in Cyrenaica, in the Fezzan and in the mountainous parts of Tripoli, the Island of Jerba (supposed to be the Island of Calypso, or of the Lotophagi), the hilly country on the Tunisian-Tripolitan frontier, and in the Oases in the South of Algeria, Wargla, Mzab, Twat, &c., are various Berber tribes. In Algeria are the Shawia in the Aures Range, and the Kabyles of the hills on the Mediterranean littoral. In Morocco the population is nearly purely Berber—the Sus and Berabera of the Atlas system and the Riffs of the northern region. The Canary Islands are also peopled by a race of Berber origin, who have now lost their old language; and the Maltese also seem to be largely of Berber blood. In the plains of Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria most of the inhabitants now speak only Arabic, but except in Tunis where a certain proportion of Arabs exist, though considerably crossed with Berber blood, they are also almost pure Berbers by race.

Anthropology.—The physical types of these races differ considerably among themselves. Broadly speaking there seem to be four main branches, though they are so much intermixed that it is impossible to classify each race separately according to type. I think the inquiry has been hampered by the exclusive study of the fair, blue-eyed, slight built, Kabyle on the one hand, or the tall, dark, sharp-featured Twarik on the other hand. But there is a vast mass of Berbers settled in the countries intermediary between the two extremes.

In attempting to analyse the types now composing the Berber races, I shall follow Dr. Bertholon, of the " Institut de Carthage," who as the medical officer of recruitment of the Army in Tunis, has had exceptional opportunities for making anthropological observations and measurements. He has contributed many papers on the subject, giving figures and illustrations to the French scientific societies. By far the greater number of the Berbers are dolichocephalic, or long-headed. but a strong brachycephalic element also exists.

Gætulian.—In the Oases on the confines of the desert—Ghadamis, Wadi Righ, Twat, Biskra, in the Tunisian Jerid, and in the almost inaccessible mountains, as in Kroumirie, are found populations who still preserve the type of Palæolithic man. These people by their dark complexion, narrow, strongly-developed skulls, receding forehead and chin, and large nasal orifices seem to represent that ancient race, whose remains are found mostly in caves, in those neighbourhoods where early chipped flint implements abound. This is the Neanderthal type. It seems that they came into Europe from North Africa, probably when the land was much higher and the two Continents were joined.

Iberian.—Another type, much the most numerous of all, is apparently Iberian. These are also short, dark-skinned and dolichocephalic, but though the forehead is narrow the face is broad, the chin square and the jaw heavy. The length of the skull is often artificially increased among the Kroumirs by the tight folds of the turban, which compress the back of the head so as to form a considerable protrusion. These are probably the descendants of the Numidians. They represent the Neo-lithic races, who came from Europe early in

the age of polished flint and bronze, and drove back the Gætulians.

Fair Libyan.—More or less intermixed with the Iberian are also great numbers of fair, blue eyed folk, who seem to be the descendants of those "Tamahous" or light-complexioned Libyans whose features are pourtrayed in Egyptian sculptures. In the Aures mountains, among the Kabyles and the Riffs, and in the high plateaux of the centre of Tunis, and in the Isle of Jerba, these blonds have preserved their characteristic appearance more or less pure. They seem to be of Celtic origin, and to have been somewhat mixed with the following class, both before leaving Europe, and when they followed them into North Africa. I should be inclined to distinguish two types of fair Berbers,—the short and the tall. The former, as for instance, most of the Kabyles, differ considerably from the tall, distinguished looking Shawi, or native of central Tunis. Perhaps these two fair-haired varieties are of different origin—the short, light men being Celts from the North, and the tall, heavy tribes connected with the Ægeans and Mycenæans,—the people of Tyrins and Troy—possibly even akin to the Horites and Amorites of Canaan.

Celto Ligurian.—The fourth class is brachycephalic—round-headed and broad faced, short and square in build—and though not fair like the Kabyles, of considerably lighter tint than the Kroumirs and the desert tribes. They occupy the coast-lands about the Syrtes and the Sahel of Tunis, and are the "Libyans" of history. They seem to be "of Celto-Ligurian origin and came from Europe, probably from the valley of the Danube. The Egyptian monuments give us the account of the deeds of war of these Europeans, the names of their tribes, the portraits of their chiefs, with the details of their costume, and even their tattooing faithfully reproduced." [1]

Though we find many specimens of all these classes among the different Berber tribes, one or other type more or less prevails in each district. So that the Susis of Morocco, the Beni Mzab, the Jerbis, &c., &c., are easily distinguishable, each nation having its own family likeness. I consider that this four-

[1] Dr. Bertholon, "La Population et les Races en Tunisie," in the *Revue générale des Sciences pures et appliquées*, 30th Nov., 1896.

fold division is of great importance in the study of Berber origins, as it shows that the Berbers are not a homogeneous race traceable to a single source, but have met in North Africa from four different directions.

[*Note.*—Articles associated with the early Stone Age are found scattered throughout North Africa. Flint, almond-shaped hatchets, knives, flakes, and arrow-heads have been found in Algeria, in the caves of Ouzidan (about seven miles north of Tlemcen), and in the sand-pit of Ternifine (or Palekao) a little to the east of Mascara; in the desert regions, between Tuggurt and Ghadamis, and on the margins of the "Shotts." In Tunis similar deposits exist in the Oasis of Matwia, near Gabes, and in the Jebel Orbata, near Gafsa.]

Language.—The linguistic test does not at first show the same diversity of origin. All the Berber tribes speak dialects which do not differ from one another more than do Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian. Though usually mutually unintelligible on account of varieties of pronunciation, these dialects are undoubtedly all derived from one common language.

Where different words are in use, the roots from which they originate generally exist in some other form, so that the present position implies an original stem, rich in roots, from which the various branches have sprung.

The Berber language is in no way akin to the Arabic, though many Arabic terms have crept in. On the other hand, the Arabic dialects spoken in North Africa differ in so many respects from those further east, that I suspect that the majority of the Arabic solecisms are in reality Berber roots moulded into Arabic forms. Though I believe that Berber is non-Semitic, its construction has many affinities to the Arabic, and the natural propensity for fantastic etymologies being encouraged by this facility, it is very difficult to determine whether the Berber expressions are derived from the Arabic, or *vice-versâ*, or indeed a hybrid more or less strange to both.

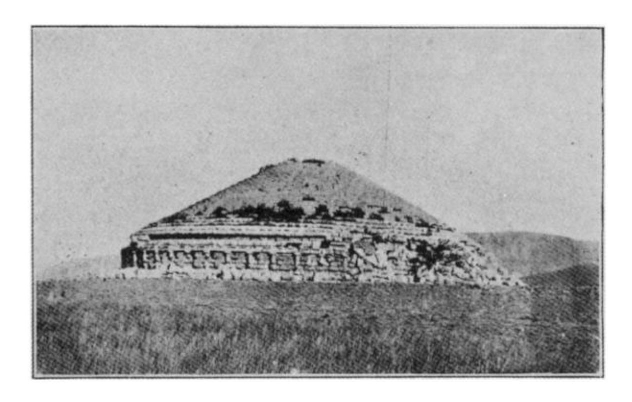
In an apparent system of tri-literal radicals, modified by the serviles, *t*, *s*, *m*, *i*, *n*, &c.; in the "causative," "reflexive," "habitual," and other "forms," in the affixed pronouns, and in a kind of "broken plural"; the Berber dialects show such a strikingly Semitic genius that one is tempted to class them with that family

without hesitation. But closer examination dispels this idea. (1) The characteristic Semitic gutturals "*'ain*," ع, and "*'ha*," ح, and the dental "*s*," ص, are foreign to Berber; (2) the pronouns are entirely dissimilar; (3) nearly all the details of conjugation differ; (4) the plural of nouns is not really "broken," but is formed in a manner unlike any of the Semitic dialects; (5) a comparison with the 'Hausa language, which I take to be certainly Hamitic, reveals a close resemblance in grammar, though not in vocabulary. Locutions which have to be turned in a peculiar manner to be expressed in Berber, take the same turn in 'Hausa, but not in Arabic;[1] (6) the vocabulary is non-Semitic in all those particulars which would indicate the most elementary relationships. On the whole, the Berber has a non-Semitic vocabulary, and a grammar on the Semitic model, but non-Semitic in matter.

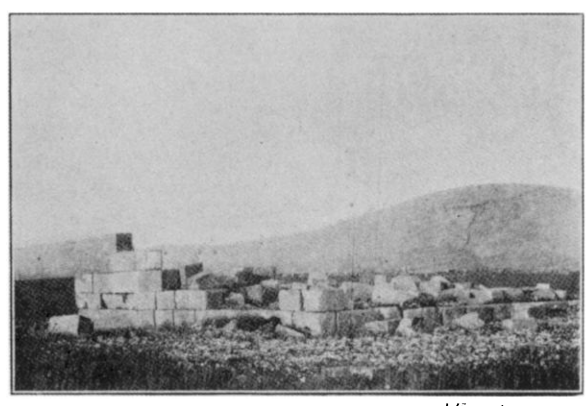
On examining the dialects, however, the seeming homogeneity in language disappears. Thus, the Riffs regularly change "*l*" into "*r*"; the Shawia change servile "*t*" into "*h*"; the Twariks interchange "*z*," "*sh*," "*h*," and "*j*" according to tribe; the Kabyles and Riffs prefer the soft "*θ*," "*δ*," to "*t*" and "*d*," or lisp the "*t*" almost "*ts*"; the Tunisians and Sus change "*g*" into "*y*." Some of these changes may be simply due to local habits, but the Riffs and Twariks at any rate seem to owe it to an original difference of race.[2] I have not yet been able to trace any connection between the Berber vocabulary and that of any other language, though the Shawia and the people of Augila (see Rohlfs' "Viaggio da Tripoli all' oasi Kufra." Milan, 1887, chap. ix.) still retain many words of Latin origin, principally names of domestic utensils, months, and places, nor can I discover any relationship with the Coptic in any particular. With the exception of the parallel with the 'Hausa which I have mentioned, I do not think the Berber has any resemblance to any of the negro tongues. It is rather an inflexional language of the Caucasian type. Briefly, the Berber dialects may be classified into (*a*) the Sahara section—Twarik and Zenaga

[1] See Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa* (Ward, Lock, and Co., 1890), p. 106.

[2] See my "Comparative Table of Words and Phrases in thirteen Berber Dialects, with Notes on the Grammar" in the *Journal of the African Society*, July, 1902.



MEDGHASSEN—TOMB OF MASINISSA, ALGERIA.



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MEGALITHS NEAR TAXA, ALGERIA.

(Senegal); (*b*) the midland or Zenati section--Sus, Shawia, Mzab, Twat, Tunis, Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Fezzan ; (*c*) the northern or Kabyle ; (*d*) the Riff, the smallest section.

Sociology.—The predominance of Islam has obliterated many of those indigeneous customs which might have thrown a valuable light on the ethnology of the Barbary States. All traces of early religions, legends, history and literature have completely disappeared. But the law of Mohammed has not displaced some habits which characterise the Berbers still.

Megalithic Monuments.—To begin with pre-historic monuments, the Barbary States are rich in megalithic remains.[1]

In Algeria.—All over Algeria, but especially in the province of Constantine, are scattered assemblages of rude stones, dolmens, cromlechs, excavations in the rock. Between Constantine and Guelma there are found—at Bou-Nouara, a megalithic necropolis containing monuments of many varieties, the general type being a dolmen composed of four vertical blocks, and a table, forming a rectangular chamber, the whole surrounded by a circle of stones ; at Roknia, the necropolis covers a space of four or five miles, the dolmens being usually of the same form, and placed four or five together in one general enclosure. At Bou-Merzoug, near Constantine, over an immense extent of hill and valley, not less than eight miles in length are found almost every known type of megalithic monuments. At Kheneg, also near Constantine, are three dolmens with enclosures of rough blocks of irregular shapes. In the Aures Mountains on Jebel-Kharuba, and Jebel Bou Driecen are great numbers of highly curious remains, consisting not only of the ordinary type of dolmen, but of circular tombs of a much more unusual construction. Near Er Rebaa, on the road from Batna to Khenchela is also a megalithic village. Near Ain-Taxa (the ancient Tigisis) under the Jebel Forṯās I saw remains containing dolmens, cromlechs, menhirs, &c. This site, however, seems to have been adapted to later uses by the Romans, a bronze coin of Domitian having been found in one. Near Algiers, in the Wadi Beni Messous are about a dozen megalithic monuments still entire, and a considerable

[1] See Sir Lambert Playfair in Murray's *Handbook for Algeria and Tunis*, pp. 88, 107, 140, 150, 200, 239, 242, &c.

number in a less perfect state of preservation. These consist of dolmens—large tabular stones, supported on four upright ones. Several interesting objects have been found in those that have been opened, such as bones, pottery, bronze ornaments, &c., which may be seen at the rooms of the Société de Climatologie at Algiers. At Djelfa, about two hundred miles due south of Algiers is another very large necropolis of the same kind near Teniet-el-Ahad, in a district called Sersou, about fifty miles south-west of Algiers, are numerous pre-historic remains containing a considerable number of interesting objects belonging to the ancient races who have inhabited the country. According to M. Jules Liorel (*Kabylie de la Djurdjura*, page 96) the skeletons found were doubled up, the head almost always turned towards the north. The glass beads, coarse pottery, and bronze ornaments may be mostly very ancient, but some are contemporary with the Roman period.

In Tunis.—The megalithic remains found in Tunis are interesting as being undoubtedly connected with the early Libyans. A considerable area around Mactar, near the western centre of the Regency, is covered with dolmens, and covered alleys. On the plateau of Hammada-Kesra, and in the olive plantations below the village are dolmens and chambers—one at least of remarkable size. At Ellez, between Mactar and Kef, is a necropolis of great extent consisting of menhirs, dolmens and covered alleys, which are said to resemble exactly those of Brittany and other parts of Europe. In one of them was found a rude clay lamp in something of the shape of the earliest "Punic" lamps. It was near these buildings in the neighbourhood of Mactar, that many Libyan inscriptions were found. Several of these are now in the museum at the Bardo near Tunis. Of these two are bilingual—one Libyan and Neo-Punic, and another Libyan and Latin, surmounted by a rough bas-relief.

Another series of megalithic structures in the north-west of Tunis, between Souk-el-Arba, and Bulla Regia, examined and described by Dr. Carton, consists of stone circles, lines and tables under which human remains were found buried, accompanied by rude pottery resembling early "Punic" feeding-bottles, bowls, &c. The skulls are said to be of the "Cro-

Magnon" type. There are also two broad cuttings into the hill, in the sides of which are dug out caves. In the neighbouring "Jebel-el-A'ïrsh," the modern burial places show that there still survive among the natives traces of the habits of their forefathers.

In Tripoli.—In Tripoli, the extensive and most interesting sites of Tarhuna and Gharian, have been described with a map and illustrations, by Barth, in his *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. I. and by Von Bary, in the *Revue d'Ethnographie*, Vol. II. p. 426, Paris, 1883. But the latest and fullest description, with photographic views, is that of Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for January, 1896. Mr. Cowper found several indications of phallic worship in these remains—a view which seems also to be suggested by the form of the towers of the Wahhabi Mosques of Jerba to the present day. He says, "What we find more or less ruined, at every Senam are the following:—firstly, a great rectangular enclosure of magnificent masonry, but seldom preserved to any height. Generally the enclosed space is divided at intervals by lines of short, square columns which in a few instances carry rudely-designed, but well-worked capitals. Secondly, the Senams proper. These are tall megalithic structures, trilithonic in shape, with jambs and capstone, but the jambs are frequently constructed of more than one stone, and they are always placed at intervals close to, or in line with the enclosure walls. As a rule, the side facing the enclosure is carefully dressed, while the other side is left rough, and in the jambs are always square perforations apparently formed with a view to support some sort of wooden structure. The Senams vary from six to fifteen feet in height, and are erected on carefully prepared footing-stones. They were not doorways, for the passage between the jambs averages but sixteen and a-half inches.[1], and they were in some way connected with ritual, for often, right before them, we find a massive altar flush with the ground. The Romans adopted and used these sites, and apparently preserved the Senams. Of this there is abundant evidence, and a few phallic sculptures which were found, all

[1] Gerhard Rohlfs, who visited these sites in 1879, considers that they were doorways, but I think incorrectly. (*Viaggio da Tripoli all'oasi Kufra*, p. 70.)

showing Roman influence, may possibly point to the form of rites the Romans found in use here." "The trilithons in themselves look older than the masonry of the enclosures. But I venture to say that it is only the idea—the traditional idea of the worship of great stones—that necessitated the erection of these strange monuments by builders who were masters of the art of masonry." "It is, however, most remarkable, that in the Mediterranean countries no distinct analogy can be traced between any other groups of megaliths and those on the 'high places' of Tarhuna. Indeed, neither in the Algerian dolmens, in the Maltese Temples, nor among the taulas and talayots of Minorca can we find much if anything which seems to elucidate the mystery. Strange as it may seem, it is none the less the fact that the only monuments now standing which parallel at all the Senams of Tarhuna are the great trilithons of Salisbury Plain. The key to Stonehenge may perhaps be found in the Senams of Tripoli, but who is to find the key to the Senams?"

In Cyrenaica.—I have not been able to ascertain whether any of the very numerous early remains in Cyrenaica, are of the same character as the pre-historic monuments in the other Barbary States. Neither Rohlfs nor Hamilton distinguishes the apparent age of those they describe. Hamilton's account of his *Wanderings in North Africa* in 1852, is introduced by a very good account of the early history of the Pentapolis, showing the strong Greek element in that part. But of the remains of the early Libyan inhabitants there seems to be nothing but the influence of their troglodytic habits to which I would trace the system of cave sepulture, which seems to be universal from Cyrene to Siwah. He mentions, however, (page 73) "some remarkable structures, peculiar I believe, to the Cyrenaica—circles of five or six feet high, surrounding a sarcophagus of the usual form. Most of them are in a very dilapidated condition, but there is one still nearly entire. It is formed of three layers of good masonry, making a square platform, on which the sarcophagus is placed, with a circle inscribed in the square of the base, formed by a ring of stones placed edgewise in juxtaposition, no cement remaining between them; their dimensions are about five feet by three." He also describes (page 139) a large square monument supposed to be the tomb of one of the

Ptolemies who reigned in this country, and which seems to have a distinct resemblance to the tombs of the Numidian kings, at Medghassen and " Tombeau de la Chrétienne," " built on a square base of rock, it presents a noble mass—the triangular entrance on the side opposite the hills is remarkable for its resemblance to that of the Great Pyramid." Hamilton visited the site of Agharmy—the Acropolis of the Oasis of Ammon, and also managed to penetrate apparently into the Sanctuary of Jupiter Ammon itself, at Siwah, but apart from their position on the peaks of hills—which seems Libyan—these monuments appear to be of an entirely Egyptian character.

Megalithic Remains Whence ?—The question now arises—Who built these Megalithic monuments? Count Sierakowsky (*Das Schaüi*, Dresden, 1871) discusses this point and quotes Henri Martin as holding that they were the work of an Aryan race, who came over by Gibraltar into Africa, and who coalesced with a Libyan indigenous race of Hamitic extraction; and Alexander Bertrand, who thinks they were built by a people who were driven *from Asia* through North and West Europe by an Aryan migration. On the other hand, General Faidherbe does not agree with Martin's view of the Aryan origin of the Megalithic tombs, but considers that they are the remains of the original Libyan stock. Those enormous necropolis of Roknia and Mazela with three thousand and two thousand tombs respectively, can only be, he believes, the work of a stationary native race. These opinions are all interesting, but the mystery is still unsolved.

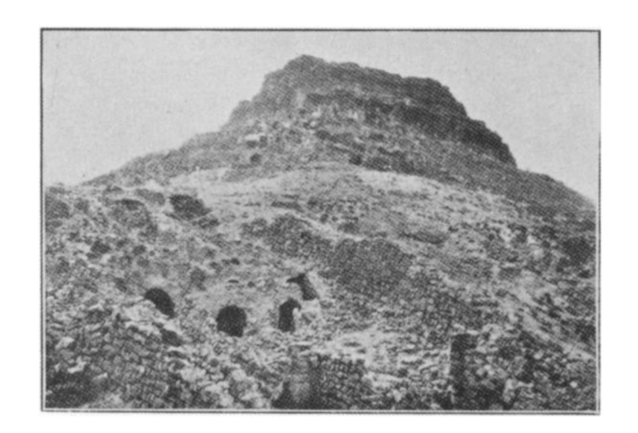
I think myself that these monuments may indicate the presence in early times of a Celtic race in Mauretania, Numidia, Africa, and Libya. On the other hand it would be intensely interesting to know whether any connection could be traced between the Senams of North Africa, and the great ruins at Zimbabwe, described by Mr. Theodore Bent in his *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland.*

Ancient Modes of Sepulture.—Traces of a peculiar mode of sepulture are also found in South-eastern Algeria. A friend of mine there saw some ancient tombs containing huge earthen jars laid mouth to mouth and cemented together so as to form a closed cylinder large enough to contain a human body. I do

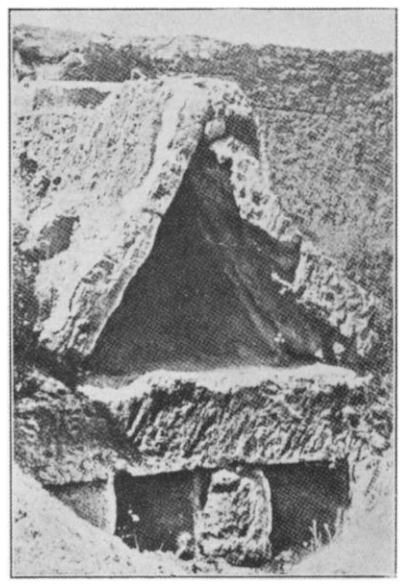
not know whether similar coffins exist elsewhere. In the South of Tunis, according to the natives of the highlands on the Tripolitan border, there occur enormous stone coffins in many of the caves, some twelve or fifteen feet long. This may be exaggerated, as the caves are dark, and the superstitious natives are afraid to examine the sarcophagi. I do not think they have been described, or even visited, by any European.

"Punic" Tombs.—But I cannot help thinking that many of the so-called "Punic" tombs, which have lately been unearthed at Carthage, and at Susa and Gabes, and other places in Tunis, among which some stone sarcophagi of great size have been found, must owe their peculiar forms to some Libyan influence at least. It is true that no Libyan inscriptions have been discovered at Carthage, but most of the many thousands of Punic epigraphs found there contain references to a goddess called "Tanit." No effigy of this goddess has appeared yet, and her attributes were a mystery until the discovery of an inscription last year, linking her name with that of Persephone, and apparently identifying Tanit with that deity. Now "Tanit" is evidently a Berber name—the characteristic feminine form commencing and ending in *t* shows that—and is possibly connected with the Egyptian "Anu," or "Ani." It also resembles the name of Tunis (originally "Tunit"), which is known to have existed before the foundation of Carthage. We may here have a clue to some pre-historic African Cult, which still existed in Punic times, and which, if my conjecture is correct, indicates a Libyan element in the population of Carthage which would doubtless affect Punic burial customs. The Punic tombs consist of chambers, generally two, side by side, constructed of massive squared stones, with a flat roof, surmounted by two blocks laid against one another in the form of a gable. The pottery and other objects laid with the body in these chambers, are mostly of Greek or Egyptian origin—the few "Punic" articles being of very primitive workmanship, mainly lamps consisting of a little clay plate with a part of the rim pinched together to form a rude spout to carry the wick.

Of historical Berber monuments, three at least are indubitable namely, the Medghassen, midway between Constantine and Batna, which was the family tomb of Masinissa; the so-called



Cave Dwellings—Matmata, South Tunis.



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Punic Tombs, Carthage.

"Tombeau de la Chrétienne," about twenty-five miles W.S.W. of Algiers, said by Pomponius Mela in his work *De Situ Orbis* written about the middle of the first century, to be the "monumentum commune regiæ gentis"; and probably the tomb of Juba II. and his wife Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra, by Mark Antony; and the "Jedar" ("walls" or "enclosures") on the top of the three last peaks of the Jebel Akhdar, S.E. of Oran, which once bore an inscription by the Byzantine general, Solomon, but which were probably tombs of a much more ancient date. All these monuments are described in great detail by Sir Lambert Playfair in Murray's *Handbook to Algeria*, pp. 136, 206, and 272. It is sufficient for the present purpose to say that they were all three pyramids—built above low podiums—the Medghassen and the Tomb of the Christian circular, and the Jedar square. They contained several sepulchral, vaulted chambers, shut off from one another by stone slabs working in grooves, like portcullises. To these chambers spiral galleries led from steps coming down from an opening in the upper part of the podium. "The exterior masonry is remarkably fine, the stones being of great size, well cut, the joints not more in some places than the thickness of a knife, and each stone joined to its neighbour by a massive clamp, probably of lead." The encircling podium presenting a vertical wall, was ornamented with sixty engaged columns, the Tombeau Ionic and the Medghassen Doric surmounted by a frieze or cornice of simple form. The colonnade has at the cardinal points four false doors. These monuments, though Berber, thus show distinct Greek influence. The name Medghassen is derived by Playfair from "the plural of the Berber word Madghes, the patronymic designation of an ancient family from which Masinissa was descended. Ibn Khaldun says that Madghes was the son of Berr Ibn Kaïs; he bore the name of El Abter, and was the father of the Berbers Botr. The name still exists in that of the tribe inhabiting the vicinity, the 'Haracta Ma'der, and in that of a stream, the Wady Ma'der."

Several hundreds of Libyan inscriptions have been found, some accompanied by Neo-Punic or Latin translations. But these inscriptions have never been satisfactorily deciphered. The characters have some likeness to the "Tifinagh" writing still

in use among the Twariks. Mr. Halévy published in the *Journal Asiatique* of February and October, 1874, complete transcriptions of 250 Libyan texts, with an attempt at a translation of them. But, though undoubtedly very ingenious, I think his renderings are far from reliable. A few proper names may be correct, but I consider that Mr. Halévy has merely read into his translations many of the local names given by Procopius and Corippus, with the aid of a few etymologies drawn exclusively from the Kabyle dialect. Many of his identifications depend on a conjectured value of a single letter, and even that has to be frequently varied.

The only other specimen of an early North African speech, is the Punic lines in the "Pœnulus" of Plautus. These are of course Phœnician. But they may be Liby-Phœnician, containing local terms of Libyan origin. The text however is so doubtful that it is almost impossible to judge. The Punic inscriptions of Carthage are in as pure Phœnician as those of Tyre or Sidon and closely resemble the Hebrew. But Plautus's specimens are very different, though that again may be due to errors in transcription through centuries of recopying by scribes entirely ignorant of the Punic language.

Coming to the present day, the most remarkable customs of the Berbers are: (1) Cave dwellings and underground storehouses; (2) the village republics of the Kabyles; (3) the royal and feudal system of the Twariks; (4) the veiling of men, but not of women, and female education and freedom among the Twariks; (5) arts and industries.

Cave dwellings.—With regard to (1) cave dwellings. In certain parts of North Africa this is a universal habit. In others, as among the desert tribes, it does not seem to exist. Even these, however, appear to have the same instinct, for they construct, where possible, "Qsur," or fortified villages, on the hill tops, as in the Mzab country, and at 'Ain Salah, and in some of the Oases of Twat. The Berbers of Cyrenaica,[1] Tripoli, and Tunis are entirely troglodyte. The hilly parts of the Libyan Desert, the Gharian and Tarhuna Mountains in Tripoli,

[1] *Note.* Ammianus Marcellinus (Bk. xxviii. ch. 6. § 4) says that the people living in the plains around Leptis, when ravaged by the hordes of the Austoriani, took refuge in the caves.

the Duirat and Matmata ranges in Tunis, are literally honeycombed with dwellings in the rock. In Central Morocco, too, near Sifroo are villages of caves in the face of the cliff (see *North Africa*, Nov. 1902). In some parts these caves are used as storehouses for grain, &c., a stone house being built in front to live in, with an outside staircase and arched roof. This form of roof is also used in the subterranean villages in the plains in the same countries, especially in Tunis and Tripoli, where for many miles the rocky soil is thus undermined. The arched roofs are called "dĕms" or "dāmūs," a word which some have derived from the Latin "domus." Among the Beni Mzab and in Twat, and among the Kabyles, these cellars are not used as habitations but only as granaries or "mătmūră," a name probably derived from the Berber "tāmmūrt," *i.e.* the ground. The natives of the plains, though not really nomadic, live in goats'-hair tents, or in booths of sticks and skins called "gītūn," which are probably similar to the "mapalia"[1] or "megalia," in which the Libyan natives lived in Carthaginian times. The Shawia have a curious custom of building solid stone barns for produce, while they themselves live in fixed "duars" or encampments of "houses of hair." As for the Twariks, I have never heard of their using excavations for any purpose. They are tent-dwelling nomads, each tribe more or less confined to a fixed sphere. Mounted on swift dromedaries, which are said to be able to cover as much as 200 miles a day, the rider sleeping on the animal's back, they move from oasis to oasis, sometimes escorting caravans, sometimes trading themselves, more often lying in wait to pillage other travellers. Their language is extraordinarily rich in all that refers to camels, not one word of which is Arabic, which shows that the camel was not introduced into Africa by the Arabs.

Twarik Men Veiled.—Another peculiarity distinguishes the Twariks from other Berbers, namely the use of the veil by men. The Berber women are scarcely ever veiled. Though they are treated like other Mohammedan women in most respects, they differ in appearing freely before men with their face uncovered. But the Twarik women have still greater freedom, and have in many respects a unique position. The girls are taught to read

[1] See Corippus, *Johannid*, II. 50.

and write their own characters, while the men are quite uneducated. Twarik women choose their own husbands—an unheard of thing among Muslims ; polygamy is almost unknown, divorce very rare, marriage only dissolved by death. They are really the mistress of the home, and go freely about their work, or trade, unveiled. But the men all cover the lower part of the face, up to the eyes, with a black veil. Some suppose this is to keep the dust out of the mouth while riding through the sandy deserts. But it is more likely that it is an ancient custom[1] inherited from some extinct religious practice. This exceptional condition of the sexes recalls the stories of the Amazons. The name "Twarik," (singular "Targi") is said to be derived from the Arabic "Tārĭk," plur. "tawārīk," signifying "one who abandons," *i.e.* who having adopted Islam, becomes a heretic; or as Barth thinks, "who left Christianity for Islam," but this seems to me very doubtful. They call themselves "Imŭshāgh," or "Imŭhāgh," plur. "Imāzīghĕn."

Unchastity.—In some Twarik tribes, as for instance, in Ugrefe, near Murzuk, among the Kel-owi, and the people of Agades and Tagama, and also among some of the Shawia, and especially the "Ulēd Naīl," (*i.e.* "Ulēd Laīn," or "children of the accursed," from the curse that Sidi Abdalla, the Muslim conqueror, laid upon the women who refused to conform to Islam), the shameful custom prevails of unmarried girls earning their dowry by prostitution. All the women pass through this phase, and return home with the money they have gained, marry respectably, and sometimes make exemplary wives and mothers. There is no religious pretence connected with this custom, such as was observed with the Babylonian "Mylitta," or the practice of Cyprus.

Twarik Aristocratic System. (See *Grammaire Tamacheq* by M. Hanoteau.)—The Twariks' organised aristocracy also marks them off from other Berbers, whose instincts are rather republican or patriarchal.

The Twariks consist of two main divisions—the Imushagh and the Shaamba—who are hereditary enemies to one another. Both are equally robbers and pitiless in vengeance. The

[1] Ibn Khaldun says that the Twarik men wore this veil, or "litham," before they embraced Islam.

Imushagh are divided into several great fractions. The principal is the Kel-Azgar, who live around Ghat, to the south-west of Tripoli; the Kel Ahaggar, who are their western neighbours as far as Twat; the Kel Aïr, whose principal centre is Agades; the Yumeleden, dwelling south of the Ahaggar as far as the banks of the Niger.[1]

Each of these nations consist of clans of "nobles" or "ihaggaren," and "vassals," or "imghad," who are under the suzerainty of their lords to whom they pay tribute. The "noble" clans seem to be extremely scanty in their numbers, some only consisting of a score or two of families. Their authority is entirely moral, but is apparently unquestioned. There are degrees of servitude. Some of the clans of "imghad" are not allowed to own camels, but only goats and asses. Others cannot bear arms. Both lords and vassals have lost all record of their origin. All that is known is that the vassals are descendants of a conquered race. But now all speak the same tongue, all observe the same manners and customs. The Ahaggar are proud, arrogant, and self-confident, and are of much fairer complexion and more graceful figures than the vassals. The Imghad, feeble, cowardly and base, and even more unmerciful to those in their power, than are the nobles. The Twariks keep up a feudal monarchy. The king, or "Amenukal," reigns with the help of the chiefs of the noble tribes. The crown is hereditary, but not direct. On the death of the king, the dignity passes not to his own, but to his sister's son.

Barth, Chap. XIV. says—"With regard to the custom that the hereditary power does not descend from the father to the son, but to the sister's son—a custom well-known to be very prevalent, not only in many parts of Negro-land, but also in India, at least in Malabar—it may be supposed to have belonged originally to the Berber race; for the Azkár, who have preserved their original manners tolerably pure, have the same custom, but they also might have adopted it from those tribes (now their subjects—the Imghad), who conquered the country from the natives. It may therefore seem doubtful whether, in the mixed

[1] "Kel" means "people." It signifies the people settled in any place—in opposition to the nomadic tribes.

empires of Ghanata, Melle, and Walata, this custom belonged to the black natives, or was introduced by the Berbers. Be this as it may, it is certain that the noble tribe of the Awelimmeden deem the custom in question shameful, as exhibiting only the man's distrust of his wife's fidelity; for such is certainly its foundation." Under the king each tribe nominates its own chief or "amghar." The king of the Azgar, reigning in 1860, lived at Ghat, and was named "Hajj Mohammed ag Khetita." But the royal authority was exercised by a relative named "Ikhemukhen." The king of the Ahaggar was "Ag mama."

An account of the various "noble" and "vassal," and half-caste tribes will be found in Barth, Chaps. X. and XIV. The Twariks have not adopted Mohammedan proper names to the exclusion of others. The following are a few names of persons—masculine: Afiuel, Ayuren, Akerkun, Ameshshehawi, Aghum—belu, Dahu, Egnes, Shita, Tfis, Intament ("the honey one"), Wamellen ("white"), Timidhi, &c. Feminine—Amenata, Betta, Shadi, Mekultu, Mala, Gagganazziu, Nana, Setera ("my love"), Sughen, Mira, Telallemt Telullamt (the name of a bird of prey), Ṭakkezt, Tezirzet, Twilel (the name of the wife of the King of the Yulemeden), Tabeghurt, ("happiness"), Tahit ("little fly"), Tawaqqazt ("lioness"), Tebeggenult, Tamfust, &c., &c.

Village Republics.—Among the Kabyles an elaborate system of village republics settles many matters of rights to property, inheritance, &c., according to tribal custom, which in other Muslim communities are arranged according to the Qur'an. The "Thajemm'ath" (from Arabic "Jema'a" or "assembly") is a sort of council of elders, nominated by the village, takes the place of the "Qādi" in civil affairs. This system apparently existed also among the Troglodytes of South Tunis, but Arab and Turkish misrule has nearly obliterated it. It only survives now among the Warghamma, on the littoral near the Tripolitan border. This does not spring from indifference in religion. All the Berbers are remarkably fervent, but practise their religious duties in different fashions of their own. Thus, the Kabyles have evolved an ecclesiastical system very like that of the Roman Church. Though there are neither priest nor sacraments in Islam, the "Mŭrābăṯs" (called by the French "Marabouts") in Kabylia are the "curés" of the villages.

Circumcisions, marriages, deaths, fêtes, anniversaries, education, &c., &c., all are conducted by the "Murābaṯ." The Murabats form tribes and clans to themselves, and are a kind of religious aristocracy. Though they speak the Berber tongue, they seem to be of Arabic origin, and keep up the exclusive study and use of the Arabic language for all religious and literary purposes. It argues deep religious convictions for Berbers to submit thus voluntarily to the unofficial authority of an alien caste. Another survival of old habits, in spite of the ordinances of Islam, is the eating of dog's flesh by the inhabitants of the Oases in South-west Tunis, about the "Shotts," *i.e.* those who belong anthropologically to the Gætulian, or palæolithic ("Neanderthal") type.

Dwellings.—In those parts where the people do not live in caves, or in tents, the houses are generally built of stone. In Jerba, and in the Sus country in Morocco, the homesteads are like small fortresses—square buildings with an open central courtyard for the cattle, into which the side rooms open. At the corners are square towers, for outlook and for defence against robbers, or the enemy in their numerous inter-tribal quarrels.

The Kabyle villages are built on the peaks of hills, and form a community holding underground storehouses in common, and tilling the hill sides most skilfully and industriously. In this they resemble the Sus of Morocco.

Commercial Instincts.—In general, all the Berbers are hard-working, and possess a strong commercial instinct. Thus the Kabyles, and the Beni Mzab, and the Islanders of Jerba are met with everywhere, singly or in small companies, peddling small wares,—jewellery, haberdashery, iron and brass ware,—or lending money at high interest, like gipsies or Jews. Certain trades too in the towns are almost exclusively in the hands of these races. In Tunis and Tripoli, all the grocers, oilmen, charcoal-sellers, and greengrocers, are Jerbis. All the bath men are also Jerbis, of a different sect. The water-carriers come from Biskra, or from Wadi Suf. In Algeria, the grocers, oil, and cloth-sellers are Mzabis, and the pedlars are Kabyles.

Industries.—The Berbers are generally a pastoral people. They practise few crafts—the principal being weaving, basket-work, pottery, and silver and brass ware. The weaving is all done by the women, who make woollen garments and carpets,

and goat and camel hair cloth for tents and sacks. The loom in use is a primitive contrivance, consisting of an upright frame before which the woman sits, or crouches. The warp is stretched between two horizontal beams, the alternate threads being attached to reeds. The woof is passed between the threads by hand, without any shuttle. Only one garment can be made at a time. Carpets and mats are made in the same way, the weaver, working on the reverse side of the carpet, does not see the pattern, neither has she any model to work from. Each family has its own hereditary design. Spinning too is accomplished without a wheel. The wool is simply twisted on to a spindle which hangs from the hand held above the head and revolves by the motion of the hand. Among the men, the weaving of the palmetto-leaf, and the halfa, or esparto grass, into baskets, matting, rope, netting, &c., is common. Most of the Berbers are skilful too in brass work, hammered or punched into artistic patterns, somewhat resembling the Indian models. Pottery of a rude kind is made by the women, and is much in use.

The form of the jars, dishes, water-bottles, &c. is strikingly like the Greek and Etruscan. The Berbers have hardly any other arts. Islam has rigorously banished all representations of the human face or form. But the ornamentation of vases with heraldic forms of fishes and animals, and the occasional painting of the same figures on walls and over doorways, so closely resemble the conventional types on Etruscan vases, that it is difficult to believe that the same influence has not originated both. The Berbers are entirely ignorant of the black glaze, and the fine terra-cotta of Etruria, but the designs on a modern North African jar, or brass tray, might have been servile imitations of Etruscan work, so exactly are the types reproduced. We know from history how close was the Etruscan alliance with Carthage against Rome, and of course, modern Berber art may derive its origin from that. But it seems likely too, that both the alliance and the art may have sprung from early and hereditary kinship.

History.—All the earliest notices of Libya agree in mentioning (1) an autochthonous race, or races; (2) subsequent invasions, pacific or hostile, from across the Mediterranean. There is no record of the earliest inhabitants of North Africa

They were always regarded as sprung from the soil. Thus Herodotus ("*Melpomene*," Ch. 197) says: "The country is inhabited by four nations, and so far as I know, no more. Of these four nations, two are indigenous, and two are foreign. The indigenous nations are the Libyans and the Ethiopians. The former inhabit the northern part of Libya, the latter the southern part. The two foreign nations are the Phoenicians and the Greeks." In his account of the founding of the Theran Colony at Cyrene under Battus (IV. 145, &c.), and in the story of Jason and the Argonauts (IV. 179), the immigrant Greeks found an indigenous population organised into cities and kingdoms. The myth of Atlantis, which Plato (*Timæus*) puts into the mouth of Critias as authentic and founded on historical evidence, gives us some indication of a prehistoric north African race. The legends of the reign of Chronos and Atlas, sons of Japetos (Diodorus Sic. III. 61) in Libya, the exploits of Theseus and of Hercules, of Cyrene and Aristæus, of the Gorgons and the Amazons, all go to prove early Japhetic colonies in Libya, closely connected with the Pelasgians. But all these presuppose a native population already in possession. Dr. Bertholon, in the *Revue Tunisienne* of Oct. 1897, and Jan. and Apr. 1898, has published an exhaustive review of the various myths of ancient Greece, and the evidences of successive Ægean migrations into Libya, which prove the Pelasgian and Argive origin of one element at least of the Berber race. He also quotes from Mr. Maspero, Herr Brugsch, Mr. Lenormant, Professor Flinders Petrie and others, to show that the Ægeans were joined with the Libyans in those early invasions of Egypt, which are described in the inscriptions of Thothmes III., and Hammen-Hoptou III., under the name of "Hanebou" and "Tamahou," or "people of the north."

Several invasions of "Lebou" (Libyans), of "Meshawasha," (or Mysians), perhaps a form of the name "Mazigh" still borne by the Berbers of "Shardina" (Sardinians), of "Toursha" (Tyrsenes, probably the Etruscans), of "Kehaka," of "Leca" (Lycians), of "Shakulsha" (Sicules or Sicilians), of "Akausha" (Achæans), are described in the inscriptions of Karnak, and of Medinet Habou, translated by Mr. de Rougé and Dr. Chabas. By the time of the XIXth dynasty the colonisation of the

western part of Egypt by the Meshawasha and other Libyans was an accomplished fact. The XXIVth dynasty was of Libyan origin. Its founder Ta-f-nekt was formerly chief of a corps of Meshawasha. One of his descendants Psammetik, who founded the XXVIth dynasty was of fair complexion. There were then no less than 200,000 Greeks in Egypt. But that the Egyptians were of essentially distinct race from the Libyans is clear from Herodotus II., 18, where the inhabitants of Marēe and Apis are said to have pleaded their Libyan origin as differing from the Egyptians in language and customs, as a reason for not conforming to the Egyptian religion. The discoveries of Mr. Flinders Petrie, and others, under the Egypt Exploration Fund, indeed reveal Libyan influence, and even domination, in that country in pre-Dynastic times, yet so different from all distinctively Egyptian culture, that I think it is beyond doubt that the earliest inhabitants of Libya were of an alien race to those about the Nile Delta. The evidence of Herodotus and Diodorus, too, makes it clear that the Libyans did not spring from the Ethiopians, though the latter confounds under the name "Ethiopian," many Sabæan tribes—such as the Ichthyophagi and Troglodytes bordering on the Red Sea—which were neither Nubian, nor Galla, nor negro. These considerations, together with the failure to trace any likeness between the Berber and the Coptic languages, seem to me to refute the theory of an entirely Hamite origin of the Berber race, such as Mr. Ernest Renan propounds ("*Les Langues sémitiques*,") "The Berber does not belong to the family of Semitic languages; it stands with regard to those languages in the same position as the Coptic, which may well be the principal idiom of a Hamitic family to which the Berber would belong." Before passing to the details of the further history of different Berber nations, I would suggest the following theory:—(1) A pre-historic immigration into North Africa from the South-east of a Sabæan race, probably of Hamitic or "Cushite" origin (see Genesis, x. 6 and 7), though of so early a type as to be hardly distinguishable from the Semitic. This I think is evidenced by the chain of cave dwellings from South Arabia, across the Red Sea, through Tigré and other parts of Abyssinia (see Mr. Theodore Bent's *Sacred City of the Ethiopians*. Chapters VIII. and XIII.), and by

the Semitic form of the grammar, and the non-Semitic vocabulary which peculiarity seems to be common to the Berber, to the Himyaritic and Sabæan languages of Cushite Arabia, and to the Amharic of Abyssinia.

(2) A pre-historic immigration from the North-west of an Iberian race, connected with the Basques and the Ligurians evidenced by the legend of the Atlantides.

(3) A pre-historic immigration of Celts from the North, more or less associated with the Etruscans and Sicilians,—proved by the complexion of the fair Libyans, and by the megalithic remains in the Barbary States, and by the conventional forms of artistic figures.

(4) A constant influx of Ægean and Greek immigration from the Greek Islands, Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean generally, dating back to Pelasgian and Mycenæan times. I should be inclined to attribute the inhabitants of Morocco to the Iberians and Celtiberians,—those of Algeria and Tunis, Tripoli and Cyrenaica, to the Celts and Ægeans grafted on the Sabæan stock, and the Twariks to the Ægeans who gradually dominated the scattered Sabæans, dropped here and there from Abyssinia to Barbary, but whose language was almost entirely supplanted by that of the subject race. This is, I think, evident from the Homeric character of the Twarik princely organisation, from the "knight-errant" type of the people, and from the evidence of earlier races, now vassals, ruled by a conquering race who speak their language.

Barth (*Travels in North Africa*, page 153,) discusses in detail the origin of the Twariks, and their relations with the subject races. He says—"The Berbers in conquering this country from the Negro, or rather I should say the sub-Libyan race (the Leucæthiopes of the ancients) did not entirely destroy the latter, but rather mingled with them by intermarriage with the females, thereby modifying the original type of their race, and blending the severe and austere manners and the fine figure of the Berber with the cheerful and playful character and the darker colour of the African. The way in which they settled in this country seems to have been very similar to that in which the Greeks settled in Lycia."

A remarkably close parallel is thus offered to the mediæval

feudal system in England, when the aristocracy of Norman origin gradually adopted the tongue of the Anglo-Saxon serf.

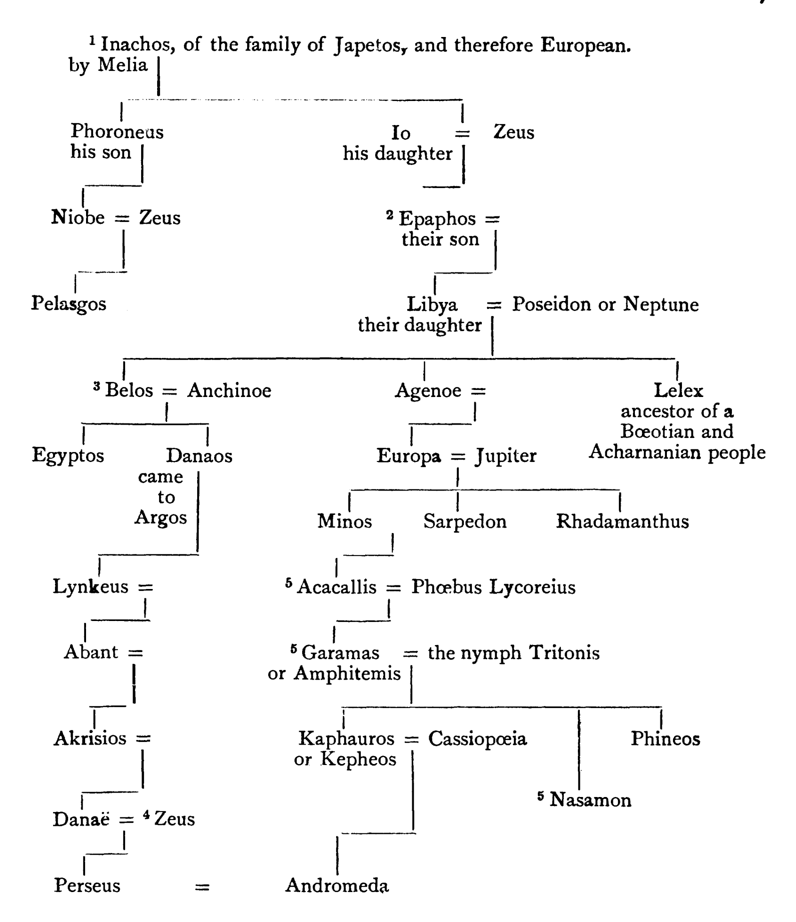
When we come to the names of the various tribes of Libyans we find in Herodotus (IV., 168, &c.) first nearest to Egypt the "Adyrmachides," then the "Giligammæ" as far as the Island of Aphrodisias. Next, but inland, come the "Asbystæ," a race of horsemen; between whom and the coast are Cyreneans. Further west come the "Auschises," among whom dwell the "Cabales," then the "Euesperides." These tribes occupied Barka. Modern Tripolitania was occupied by the Nasamones and the Garamantes, and by the extinct Psylli. The description of the manners of these tribes agrees pretty closely with those of the present inhabitants (see also *Diod. Sic.* Book III. Chaps. 49 to 51).

But both the Nasamones and the Garamantes seem to be either of Greek origin, or a remnant of a Greek domination. The tree on the opposite page shows the connection of the various myths among themselves and with the Pelasgi.

According to Agrætas (in Herodianus) Amphitemis had the following sons by other nymphs—Adyrmachis, Ararancelas, Maclys, Macas, and Psyllos.

The only value of these myths is to show that legendary connections existed in the earliest times between Egypt (whence the religion of Greece was derived), and the Greek islands and Libya; and that the Garamantes were held to be the progenitors of the Nasamones and other Tripolitan tribes, and that they were of European stock. "We [1] find in Herodotus a very important notice of these Garamantes. He speaks (Book IV., 183) of the Garamantes, a numerous nation who cultivate the soil, and possess many palm-trees, and also a race of cattle with horns coming down over their brows. These Garamantes hunt down the Ethiopian troglodytes, a fleet-footed people, who speak a language which has nothing in common with that of other nations. In another passage (IV., 174) the same author does not describe the Garamantes as such a civilised folk; he places them in a plain full of ferocious animals, avoiding all communication with mankind, deprived of weapons, and ignorant of their use. We may form the opinion that the former civilised Gara-

[1] Dr. Bertholon, *Revue Tunisienne*, No. 17, January, 1898.



[1] See John of Antioch, fragm. vi. § 14. *Fragm. hist. gree.*

[2] Solin. XXIV. 2. Pindar, IVth. Pythian.

[3] Apollodorus, II. 1, § 4.

[4] Herodotus, VII. 61.

[5] Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonauts*, Ode IV. ch. iv. 1489–1496. See also Agrætas, fragm. 1 and 4.

mantes are the descendants of the mythic Garamas, while the second represent the savage natives, conquered and dominated by them : perhaps those whom the same author calls " Ethiopian Troglodytes." The Nasamones would be the result of the cross between the Cretan element and the local tribes. These tribes, represented by the nymph Tritonis, belonged to the race

of Japetos. They were, therefore, also of European origin; in fact, Tritonis must have been sister to Athena, if not Athena herself."

This interpretation of the legends would bear out my theory of the origin of the Twariks.

Next to the Nasamones, Herodotus places the Maces, then the Gindanes, then the Lotophagi, the Machlyes, and the Auseans, evidently the peoples living around the Gulf of Gabes and the Island of Jerba. His account of these people is still recognisable. To the west of Lake Triton,—probably the "Shott" in the South of Tunis, came the Maxyes, the Zaueces, and the Gyzantes. These are described as not nomadic, but as dwelling in houses in a hilly, well-wooded country, which is easily identified with the Aures, Kroumirie, and Kabylia. Perhaps the names Maxyes and Zaueces and Gyzantes have some connection with the present "Amazigh," Zuwawa," and "Beni-Iznacen."

Coming now to Sallust, we get the first authentic account professedly drawn from historic sources. As Governor of Numidia, Sallust had access to legends and records such as the works of the Numidian king Hiempsal which were unknown to other writers, and soon after perished entirely. In his "Bellum Jugurthinum," Chapter XVIII., he says that the earliest inhabitants of Africa were the Gætulians, and the Libyans, who were wild, savage, and unsettled. The Gætulians lived under the burning zone, the Libyans near the sea. The Numidians he traces to the half-bred descendants of the Medes, Persians, and Armenians who followed Hercules into Spain, and who scattered into Africa on his death, and the Gætulians. Of these the Persian element remained nearer the ocean, the rest occupying the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. He traces the peculiar form of the native huts, or "gītūn," still in use among the various Berber tribes, to the hulls of their ships which these immigrants brought ashore, and formed dwellings of, by turning them over. The "Moors," he says, are the descendants of the Armenians, and Medes, and the Libyans, who were less warlike than the Gætulians. From their position near the Straits of Gibraltar across which they traded with Spain, Sallust evidently here refers to the Riffs and Kabyles.

This theory of the fourfold origin of the Berbers, though Sallust hesitates to accept any responsibility for its value, has much in its favour. It evidently records the tradition of, (1) the African ("Gætulian") basis of the Southern Berber tribes; of (2) those pre-historic fair Libyans who still form an element of the Northern Berbers; of (3) an Iberian immigration from Spain within historic, or rather legendary, times; (I think the "Medes" are only brought in to account for the name "Moors"); and (4) the intermixture of Ægean, or Japhetic ("Persian," "Armenian") blood in the Eastern and Zenati Berbers.

Procopius (de Bello Vandalico, Book II. 10) gives another account to which is probably due the Arabic versions of the origin of the Berbers. He says that the earliest inhabitants of Libya were called "autochthones" from their having lived there from ancient times. It was of these people that Antæus was king, who fought with Hercules at Clipea. On the conquest of Canaan by Joshua certain Phœnicians fled to Numidia where they built a town called Tigisis (Ain Taxa near Sigus, south of Constantine) before the gates of which they erected two stones with an inscription. On the arrival of Dido, she and her companions were received kindly as kinsmen by these earlier immigrants. Procopius makes the strange statement that the native Moors still used the *Phœnician* language, as descendants of the earlier Canaanites—not of the Carthaginians. On the other hand in Book I. 16, Belisarius is represented as saying "the Libyans being Romans by origin" (*οἱ Λίβυες Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες*).

These statements *may* preserve the memory of an Amorite or Horite colony in North Africa, but the mention of Joshua seems to give an apocryphal air to the story.

Ammianus Marcellinus, Corippus,[1] and Orosius, all give very

[1] *Note.* Corippus, an African bishop, who lived about A.D. 696, in his *Johannidos* gives several interesting particulars about the "Moors" of Tunis and Algeria. He remarks on their dark complexion. ("Maura videbatur facies, nigro colore horrida," Bk. I. 245.) He compares their language to savage barking. ("Temperet insuetis nutantia carmina verbis Nam fera barbaricæ latrant sua nomine linguæ," II. 26.) The numerous tribe of the Frexes are said to be equally warlike on foot and on horseback. ("Densissima turmis Frexes. . . . Fortis gens et dura viris bellique tumultu Effera, seu pedes it campis præsumpta per hostes, Sive frementis equi pulsat calcaribus armos," II. 43.) The nomad tribe of the Macares are described as living in booths in the

interesting details of the natives of North Africa in their times (fourth to seventh centuries) but they do not throw much light on Berber origins. The principal tribes were then the "Mazices" (the modern "d Amazigh") and the "Frexes" or "Ferices" perhaps the "Fraishish." Orosius, a Spanish presbyter who visited St. Augustine at Hippo in A.D. 415 and again in 417, in his "Adversus paganos historiarum libri septem" Book I. chap. II., gives a remarkably accurate and intelligent account of the boundaries and natural features of the Roman provinces west of Egypt. He mentions that though Tripoli was called the "region of the Arzuges," the name Arzuges "also applied generically to a great distance along the coast of Africa." South of Tripoli he places the Gætulians, the Nothabres, and the Garamantes; south of Tunis he gives the "Montes Uzaræ," and after them nomadic tribes of "Æthiopians" as far as the Æthiopian Ocean (*i.e.* the Gulf of Guinea). South of Algeria is Mount 'Astrixis' which divides between the living land and the sands which stretch as far as the Ocean, in which also rove the Æthiopians 'Gangines.' To the south of Morocco were the tribes of "Auloles which are now called Galaulæ, whose border was as far as the Hesperian Ocean." I should think that Orosius, being a Spaniard, would have accurate information about the western provinces of North Africa. The addition of the G to the name of the "Auloles," seems to point to Gothic influence (*c.f.* *G*uadalquivir for *W*adilkebir). The attempt to identify the names of tribes and individuals given in the Greek and Latin writers with the Berber names that survive is enticing, but for our present purpose unnecessary.

We come now to the native historians and the legends they preserve of the Berbers' own traditions as to their origin. Unfortunately these are absolutely worthless. It appears that no Berber historian has ever written anything in his own language—those from whom Ibn Khaldun drew his information having apparently used Arabic—and that very bad Arabic. The great author shows too that their accounts are mere inventions.

thick forests on the mountains. ("Silvaizan Macares que vagi, qui montibus altis Horrida præruptis densisque mapalia silvis Objecta condunt securi rupis ad umbram." II. 58.)

Most traced their descent from Goliath who was slain by David. Others impudently connected their line with the Himyaritic royal family, or with the Coreish!—A mythical king "Ifricos" gave them the name of "Berbers"—"There were therefore Coreishides in the time of Ifricos; now Coreish, the ancestor of this family, was born about the year 200 of our era; therefore the Berbers and Ifricos himself who, they say, gave his name to Africa, arrived in this country between the years 222 and 622 of our era!" (Baron de Slane, *Ibn Khaldun*, Vol. IV. p. 567.)—The only Arabic historian of any critical value is Ibn Khaldun himself, and he, after refuting the theories of others, says oracularly that the only true account is that "the Berbers are the children of Canaan, son of Ham, son of Noah. Their ancestor was named Mazîgh; their brethren were the Girgashites (Agrîkesh); the Philistines, children of Casluhim son of Misraim son of Ham were their relatives. Their king (*i.e.* of the Philistines) bore the name of Goliath, and it was the alliance of the Philistines with the Girgashites and other Canaanites in their wars against Israel that occasioned the legend that the Berbers were descended from Goliath"—(transl. of De Slane, Vol. I. p. 184)—This author, however, seems to allow that the Senhaja, *i. e.* Zenaga, of whom are the Twariks, and the Ketama (of whom are the Kabyles, Zuwawa) were of Arabian (Himyaritic) descent, though he also gives them a Berber pedigree too (Vol. I. p. 293, and Vol. II. p. 2) and that the Zenata were of a different Canaanite race (Vol. III. p. 180 etc.). Broadly, he divides the Berbers into two great branches—the Botr (including the Zenata) and the Beranes (including Zenaga, and Ketama). Though the native historians are absolutely ignorant as to the origin of the Berbers, they are apparently perfectly reliable as to the relationships of the various nations among themselves, and as to their history since the seventh century A.D. Ibn Khaldun gives some interesting particulars of the Twariks, Vol. II. p. 64. "The Muletthamim, (*i.e.* the veiled people,) a nation of Senhaja race, inhabited the sterile region which extends to the south of the sandy desert. From time immemorial, for many centuries before Islam, they had continued to roam over this region in which they found all that they needed. Instead of the products of the Tell and of cultivated land, from which they

lived at a distance, they used the milk and flesh of their camels, by avoiding civilised districts they had become accustomed to isolation, and being as brave as they were fierce, they had never bent under the yoke of foreign dominion. They occupied the parts neighbouring on the 'Rif'[1] of Abyssinia, and the territory which separates the country of the Berbers from that of the Blacks. They veiled their faces with the 'litham,'[2] a garment which distinguished them from other nations." The religion of these nomads, Ibn Khaldun says, was Magianism, probably meaning fetishism of some kind. They were divided into many tribes, but formed one powerful nation under hereditary kings. One of these tribes, the Lemtuna, got the upper hand of the rest, and eventually gave rise to the Almoravide (or Sanhadja) dynasty which ruled in Africa and Spain. The name "Sanhadja," the Arabic form of "Zenaga," still survives in "Senegal."

As for the name Berber, there are, of course, many conjectures as to its meaning. I should think it must be derived from the Greek "*βάρβαροι*" which seems to have been simply onomatopœic. But the root occurs in the name "Bornu". Barth says (Chap. XXIX.) "I do not at all doubt of some connection existing between the ruling family of Bornu and the Himyaritic or Cushite stock; but I doubt its immediate descent from the royal Himyaritic family. But be this as it may, I think that Leo Africanus, who is a very good authority for general relations, is right in stating that the King of Bornu originated from the Libyan tribe of the Bardoa, a tribe also mentioned by Makrizi as Berdôa. That there is an ethnological connection between the names Bernu or Bornu, Borgu, Berdoa, Berdama Berauni, Berber can scarcely be doubted; but to many the Berdôa might seem to have nearer relations with the Tedà or Tebu than with the real Berber or Mazigh. Sultan Bello certainly, in the introduction to his history of the conquests of the Fúlbe, expressly says that the Bornu dynasty was of Berber origin; and it is on this account that the Hausa people call every Bornu man "ba-Berberche," and the Bornu nation "Bérbere."

[1] "Rif" means a well-watered country with plantations. In Africa it is used of countries bordering on the sea.

[2] A veil formed of a broad band covering the lower part of the face, up to the eyes.

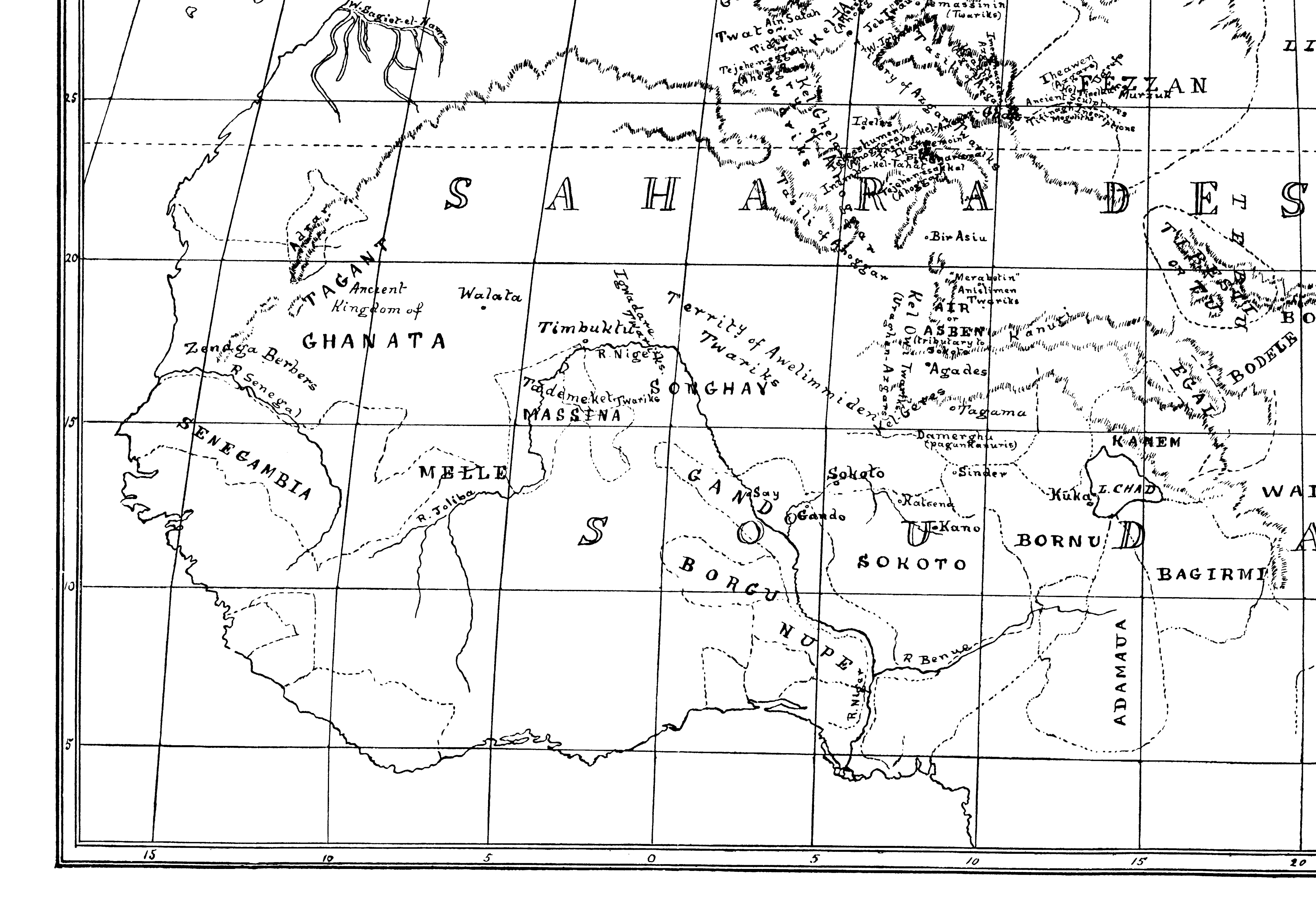
"Now if it be objected that the Kanúri or Bornu language does not appear to contain any Berber elements (which indeed it does not) I have only to adduce the exactly parallel example of the Bulála, a brother dynasty of the Bornu royal family, descended from the same stock, who, having settled and founded a dynasty among the tribe of the Kúka, in the territory of Fittri, still continued to speak their native language, that is the Kanúri, in the time of Leo, but have now entirely forgotten it, adopting the language of the people over whom they ruled, and similar examples are numerous"—From the marriage arrangements of the royal tribe of Bornu (similar to that of the Kel-owi, see p. 178) and from the position of women, Barth infers that a kind of compromise took place among the strangers—Berbers or rather Imóshagh (Mazigh) from the tribe of the Berdoa—and the tribe or tribes among whom they settled. It was due to the close friendship between Bornu and Tébu that the name of Berauni which originally belonged to the inhabitants of Bornu, is still at present the common name given by the Twarik to the Tébu, or rather, the latter are a race intimately related to the original stock of the Kanuri, as must become evident to every unprejudiced mind that investigates their language."

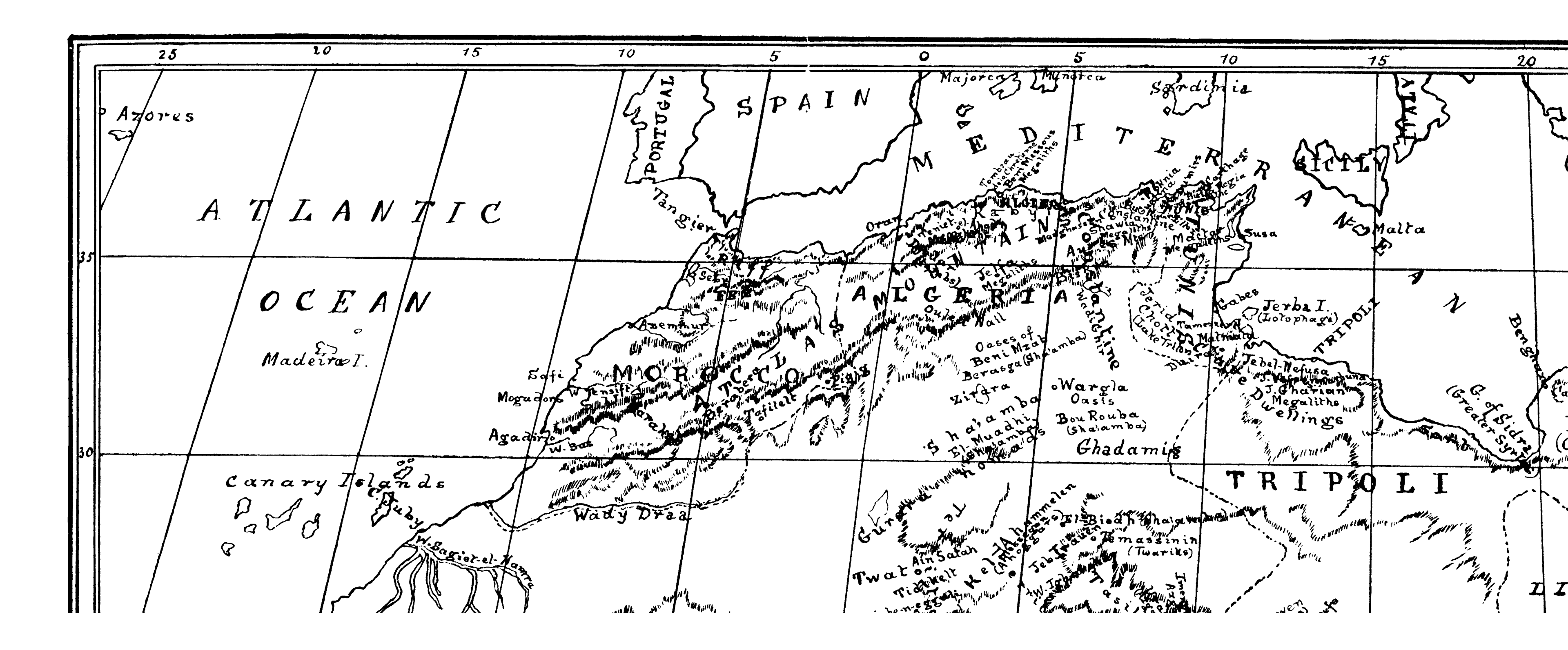
I have no means of comparing these, and other languages of the Central Sudan, but it seems to me likely that the Hausas, the Kanuri, the Tebu, and some other Sudanese peoples (the Fulbe or Fellata seem to be a more modern immigration) represent that aboriginal substratum of North African races, which is called "Gætulian." The incessant warfare in the Sudan, the slave-trade, the destructions of the hordes of Islam, intermarriage and concubinage, and other confusing elements, have doubtless made it almost impossible to find clear anthropological distinctions. But I should think that these non-Bantu races would attach to that early stream which left South Arabia, crossed the Red Sea into Abyssinia and thence divided, one part apparently travelling southward into Mashonaland, another North-westward into what was afterwards called Libya, and across the Mediterranean into Europe. If traces of cave-dwellings or cave tombs; of megalithic structures; of chipped flint implements; of cranial developments similar to those of "Palæolithic man"; and if any linguistic affinities can be discovered in the Central Sudan, I

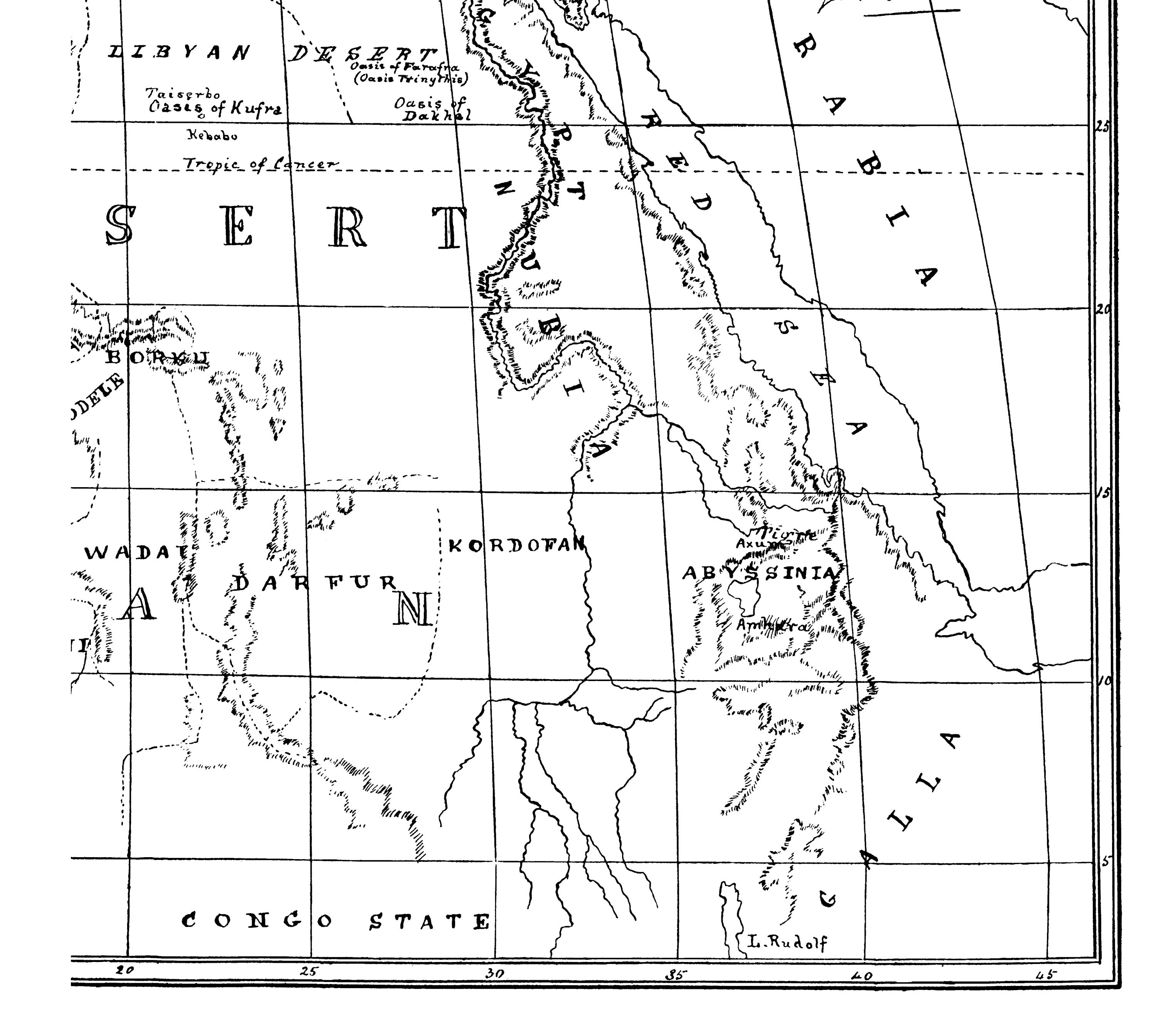
should conclude that another section of this same Cushite stock had struck off westward into Kanem, Bornu and Sokotu. Now that the States around Lake Chad, and along the Binue are in European hands, and peace and good government are in prospect in these distracted countries, a grand opportunity is opening up for investigating these and other scientific problems, and an unexpected light may yet be thrown on the early history of the whole of Africa.

GEO. BABINGTON MICHELL.

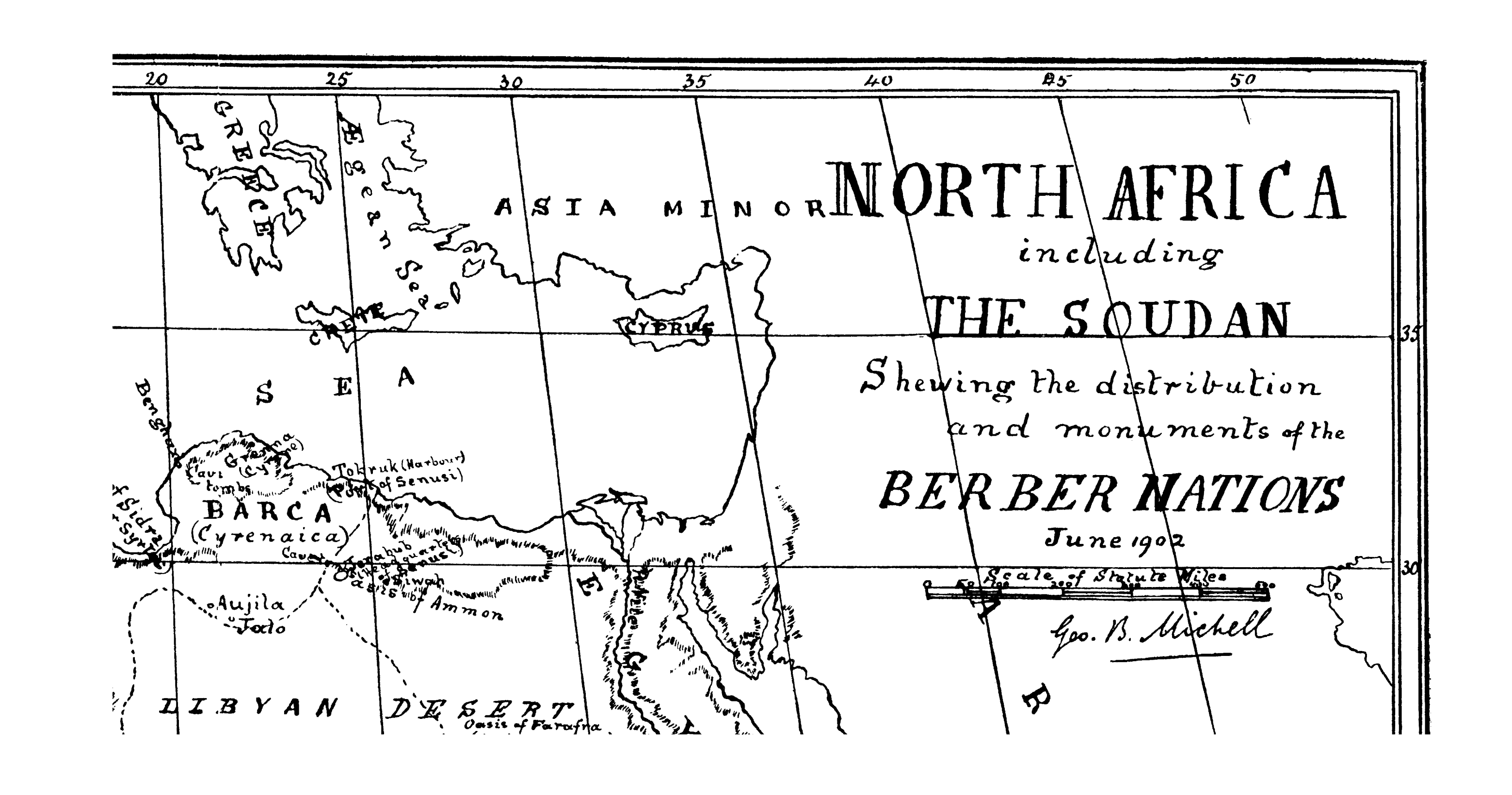
TUNIS, *June 6th*, 1902.


SAHARA DESERT
SENEGAMBIA
Zenaga Berbers
R. Senegal
TAGANT
Ancient Kingdom of GHANATA
Adrar
Walata
Timbuktu
R. Niger
Igwadaren Twariks
Taddemeket Twariks
MASSINA
SONGHAY
Territy of Awelimmiden Twariks
MELLE
R. Joliba
S O U D A N
GANDO
Say
Gando
BORGU
NUPE
R. Niger
R. Benue
Sokoto
Katsena
Kano
SOKOTO
Sinder
Damerghu (pagan Kanuris)
Tagama
Agades
AIR or ASBEN (tributary to Sokoto)
"Merabetin" Anislimen Twariks
Kanuri
Bir Asiu
KANEM
L. CHAD
Kuka
BORNU
BAGIRMI
ADAMAUA
BODELE
EGAI
TIBESTI or TU
FEZZAN
Murzuk
Ancient Sculptures
Twat or Tidikelt
Ain Salah
W. Sagiet-el-Hamra
Tasili of Ahoggar
Tejehe-n-esse-kel (Ahoggar)
Ideles
(Twariks)


Azores
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Madeira I.
Canary Islands
C. Juby
W. Sagiet-el-Hamra
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Tangier
Azemmur
Safi
Mogador
Agadir
W. Sus
MOROCCO
Tafilelt
Wady Draa
Oran
ALGERIA
Oases of
Beni Mzab
Berasga (Shaamba)
Zirara
Wargla
Oasis
Bou Rouba
(Shaamba)
Ghadamis
Majorca
Minorca
Sardinia
MEDITERRANEAN
SICILY
ITALY
Malta
Susa
Gabes
Jerba I.
(Lotophagi)
Jebel-Nefusa
J. Gharian
Megaliths
Dwellings
TRIPOLI
G. of Sidra
(Greater Syrt)
Benghazi
Temassinin
(Twariks)
Twat
Tidikelt
Ain Salah



LIBYAN DESERT
Oasis of Farafra
(Oasis Trinythis)
Taiserbo
Oases of Kufra
Oasis of Dakhel
Kebabo
Tropic of Cancer
SERT
NUBIA
RED SEA
ARABIA
BORKU
WADAI
DARFUR
KORDOFAN
Tigre
Axum
ABYSSINIA
Amhara
GALLA
CONGO STATE
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NORTH AFRICA
including
THE SOUDAN
Shewing the distribution
and monuments of the
BERBER NATIONS
June 1902
Scale of Statute Miles
Geo. B. Michell
GREECE
Aegean Sea
ASIA MINOR
CRETE
CYPRUS
SEA
BARCA
(Cyrenaica)
Tobruk (Harbour)
Aujila
Jalo
LIBYAN DESERT
Oasis of Farafra
Oasis of Ammon
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